Jean Calvin: les Hommes et les Choses de son Temps. Par EMILE DOUMERGUE, Professeur à la Faculteé de Théologie de Montauban. Tome II., *Les premiers Essais.* (Lausanne: Georges Bridel et Cie. 1902. Pp. xii, 815.)

THE first volume of Professor Doumergue's monumental work brought Calvin as far as the publication of the *Institutio Christiana*, in 1536.[1] The second volume, the preface of which is dated at Montauban, November 25, 1902, portrays him, in turn, in Italy, at that strange ducal court of Ferrara, where the sister of a French king, bound by a political marriage to the son of Lucretia Borgia, was endeavoring to live secretly according to the Reformation and to protect a church after her own heart; at Geneva, where the future reformer is retained by William Farel in order to commence his life-work; at Strassburg, where he spends three years in exile, years of initiation into great duties and large responsibilities; finally at Geneva once more, whither, in 1541, the Councils recall him, ready to follow unreservedly the guidance of his genius. M. Doumergue has entitled this part of his work *Les premiers Essais*, and has dedicated it to the memory of that revered guide whose loss the historians of the French Reformation feel every day more keenly — Aimé-Louis Herminjard.

In accordance with the comprehensive plan which he has followed from the beginning, the biographer of Calvin takes the opportunities offered by his hero's various abiding-places and numerous meetings with representative men to present to his readers a complete series of studies in antiquities and in the history of civilization. Not only does he narrate, in great detail and with a wealth of illustration and documents, the histories of Ferrara, of Strassburg, and of Geneva, up to the day of Calvin's advent, but Frankfort, Hagenau, Worms, and Ratisbon, where the reformer stopped on occasions of theological lectures and discussions, form the subjects of veritable monographs. M. Doumergue has taken the trouble to visit all the places of which he speaks, and what is more, he has seen them with seeing eyes. With the aid of numerous reproductions of prints and original drawings, and with the further aid of his pen, which he handles like an artist's brush, he restores to them, as he passes through, their sixteenth-century aspects, and with his true explorer's enthusiasm he carries us, in spite of ourselves, along with him. We return from that journey through time and space with an infinite stock of information. I cannot assert that we return unwearied. The enthusiasm of the biographer for everything which, directly or indirectly, relates to his hero cannot sustain, at least to an equal degree, the attention and interest of all his readers, and for the majority of them he lingers too long over that which has only a remote bearing. Possibly the very wealth of illustration at his disposal is responsible, in some measure, for this defect. The rapid development of processes of reproduction has in a few years doubled the suggestive power of history. The

[1] See the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW for January, 1902 (VII. 350 ff.).

author who can have recourse to it without limit should not forget that the assimilative power of his reader has not proportionately increased, and that if he does not limit himself through a severe process of selection, he runs the risk oftentimes of confusing rather than clarifying.

Another danger for the historian results from this coöperation of the illustrative art—that of being allured by it away from his legitimate highway into the flowery paths of historical romance. M. Doumergue, sincerely and earnestly desirous as he is of producing a critical work, does not always quite escape this peril. Here, for example, is his method of introducing Calvin as he arrives at the court of Ferrara in the beginning of the year 1536:

> Enfin voici deux gentilshommes, qui s'avancent vers le groupe où pérore "le poète gallique" [Clément Marot]. L'un d'eux est regardé par quelques-uns avec une attention particulière, faite de respect et de curiosité. Il est vêtu tout de velours noir; sur sa tête est une toque de docteur, de même étoffe, et une collerette blanche lui serre le cou austèrement, mais non sans élégance, cependant. Il tient un de ses gants blancs à la main et laisse voir, à l'un de ses doigts, un anneau d'or. Sa figure est à la fois sévère et noble, quoique fatiguée par des veilles, dirait-on, ou des soucis. Mais ses yeux sont grands et fendus avec finesse, et tout son être respire une distinction particulière, une simplicité de bon ton, qui le met également à l'aise avec les savants et avec les dames.
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> C'est un gentilhomme récemment arrivé, qui se fait nommer Charles d'Espeville, c'est Calvin (p. 45).

A note indicates that this description follows the beautiful portrait from Hanau reproduced at the beginning of the volume. That would be well enough if the portrait in question were beyond all doubt that of Calvin at the time of his travels in Italy. But it is to our knowledge without signature or date, or designation as representing the features of the reformer, or of the reformer at that period, except as it is so designated by a local tradition, the criticism of which is not presented. At the beginning of his first volume M. Doumergue has reproduced the famous enamel of L. Limousin, dated 1535, which he styles, also after a tradition, "Calvin à l'âge de 25 ans". It is difficult to admit that these two portraits represent the same person. In the iconography of Calvin, which is announced for a subsequent volume, the learned professor of Montauban will manifestly be compelled to give up at least one of the two. It is evident that before writing the page just quoted he mentally sacrificed the enamel by Limousin. But it is unfortunate that after having placed this apocryphal portrait as a kind of frontispiece to his work, he should later replace it by another, which he uses as he might a document from the archives, without giving us on the spot the opportunity of weighing his reasons.

Men and affairs in Geneva occupy, as is proper, a place of first importance in this second volume. Here we find a résumé of the history of that town under episcopal rule and a living picture of the beginnings of the Reformation in Romance Switzerland in general. This narrative and description, for the first time brought together, will

be a great boon to foreign historians. But here become more and more evident the truly insurmountable difficulties against which Professor Doumergue brings up when he endeavors to carry out his gigantic plan with that wealth of information, that superabundance of details, which I have already criticized in his first volume. It is beyond the power of any one man to make a documentary study of that great mass of material which he has worked into the body of his exposition. Where the ground has already been broken by works of real value his treatment is excellent. His résumé has life and color, and is to the point. But not nearly all the ground in his vast field is in this condition; much of it is still lying fallow, to speak from a strictly scientific point of view, and right there is where he is inevitably, fatally, at a disadvantage. Indeed he would have done better in the interests of scientific truth had he not tried to cover such portions.

The history of the Geneva of the bishops has not been written, nor can it be until the collection of documents for that period has been utilized by a local historian or placed at the service of all by publication. M. Émile Rivoire, a Genevan lawyer, who is at the same time an archivist, has begun at his own expense the editing of the registers of the Council.[1] But he has thus far brought out only the registers for the years 1409–1461, and after Volume II., down to 1475, which is already in press, and the numerous volumes which should follow, in order to exhaust this source of information, it will be necessary to collect the parchments still dispersed from the *Chapître des Chanoines*, the reports of the pastoral visits in the diocese, and the registers of the civil and religious corporations. It will also be necessary to have recourse to the records, still so little known, of the Councils of Fribourg and of Berne. All this will necessitate investigations which have not as yet been systematically made, and expenditures of money at present far beyond the slender means at the disposal of Genevan scholarship.

Thus it is that M. Doumergue's résumé is subject to revision.[2] It is not strictly true, as he asserts, that the syndics, elected annually by the townsmen, alone had the right to administer justice in criminal cases. The bishop retained the power of pardoning and the right to remove all cases to his own tribunal. It is not strictly accurate, either, that the bishop and the *vidomne* (*vicedominus*), as temporal lord, swore each year to the syndics to respect franchises. Such a showing of the facts may give rise to erroneous conclusions as to the respective positions of the ecclesiastical prince, his feudal deputy, acting ministerially through an official who was himself called *vidomne*, and the medieval commune (p. 98), etc.

In his exposition of the events which took place at Geneva toward the end of 1536, and especially his account of Calvin's début in his rôle

[1] *Registres du Conseil de Genève*, Tome I., Geneva, 1900.

[2] Reference ought to be made for those times to a deserving study of this period by an American historian, Professor H. D. Foster, in the REVIEW for January, 1903, "Geneva before Calvin".

of reformer, M. Doumergue has profited by the works not only of Herminjard, the old master of Lausanne, and of the professors of Strassburg, but also of F. W. Kampschulte, of Carl A. Cornelius, and of Amédée Roget, all three of whom he opposes and criticizes, sometimes justly, but sometimes, also, according to my own view, unjustly. Here his narrative assumes a totally different character, and the care and talent which he displays recommend it as the most complete and best yet written, with that single reservation which I have already made in my former review : this account is the work of a combatant, of an orator, writing in a country and at a time when the war of pen and speech is being waged more fiercely than ever, who has taken for his task the avenging of the greatest memory, the most enduring system of thought that French Protestantism can invoke.

Calvin's long stay in Germany; his activity as pastor of the French community of Strassburg, and as representative of the imperial city in religious conferences held in the empire; his personal relations with Bucer, Hédion, Capiton, the two Sturms, and Melanchthon, all these furnish his latest biographer with some excellent pages wherein may be found assembled a great mass of information hitherto scattered through a large number of special works, and wherein many current errors are corrected. The liturgy of the Calvinistic worship, broadly outlined as it was by its founder at that time, forms the subject of a learned study, based on the notable works of Dr. Alfred Erichson. In the course of this chapter M. Doumergue deals with the question over which there has been so much controversy, of Calvin's ideas in regard to religious art. He demonstrates with abundant proof that in this respect the reformer was neither the Bœotian nor the Vandal that some have wished to make him.

Finally, I refer the reader who is pressed for time and who desires to select in this enormous folio one or two chapters of value and of particular bearing to those which the author has entitled "Calvin et Mélanchthon", "Calvin et Luther" (pp. 545–561, 562–587). The attitude of the head of the French Reformation toward the German Reformation is characterized authoritatively and truly. Calvin did all that fell to him to do, to be the conciliator between Luther and Zwingli. If he failed, if Protestant unity has not been realized, it is because the successors of the monk of Wittenberg have been more Lutheran than Luther.

Calvin a conciliator! Is that to say that Calvin was a man of gentle, tender, conciliating character, or that he always acted as such? That is a thesis dear to his biographer, against which I offered some reservations when I reviewed, in these pages, his first volume (AM. HIST. REV., VII., 350–353). M. Doumergue has taken up my criticisms in a series of public lectures at Geneva and then at Lausanne, in which his ringing words and his incomparable talent as an orator have received universal applause. As these lectures have been collected and published, I refer the readers of my review to them.

I said that "the historians who have studied him most closely" during the period when he was molding Geneva "have not brought back from their study a sympathetic feeling, as far as his person is concerned. They could no longer feel his heart beat." M. Doumergue, quoting this phrase, with some words of friendly deference for his critic, begs his audience to permit him to perform before them a new auscultation of the action of his hero's heart. In the process of this operation the lecturer cites a certain number of instances in which Calvin himself laughed joyously or approved the gayety of others; then, after calling attention to what he terms "son excessive nervosité", he cites a less number of instances in which the reformer wept or lamented; finally he insists upon the strong friendship and the deep devotion which he was able to inspire.

I do not cast doubt on any of these assertions, nor do I dispute any of these illustrations, based as they are on the best sources. It is sufficient for me to observe that most of them date from Calvin's youth, and that not one belongs to the exact time of which I have spoken. When my eloquent colleague of Montauban shows me, in one of his succeeding volumes, Calvin yielding to emotion while conducting in Geneva a criminal prosecution against one of his opponents, I will admit that History —I do not speak here of Legend—has misjudged him; and of all of Calvin's spiritual sons I shall not be the last to rejoice.

But, not to part with M. Doumergue at this point of difference, I beg leave to quote from one of his lectures which I have just mentioned a passage which seems to me to be characteristic of his talent, and which will, I trust, inspire in many a desire to read him. After showing that Calvinism is inseparable from individualism, which is its greatest creation in the social order, he ends his lecture by bringing before the eyes of his audience, as with a stereopticon, the colored picture which follows:

> Au milieu se dresse Calvin, sa Bible à la main. À gauche, sont les différents groupes, formés par les tenants de la vieille doctrine païenne, de la cité antique, de l'Église théocratique, d'après laquelle l'individu n'a de droits que ceux que la société, État ou Église, lui confère, toujours maîtresse de les reprende. Dioclétien et Galère tendent la main à Philippe II, au duc d'Albe, à Charles IX. Dracon et Torquemada s'entendent avec Marat, et les membres de tous les Comités de Salut public. Jean-Jacques, un peu à l'écart, écoute et rédige les pages de son Contrat social. Groupes sombres, où Rembrandt lui-même n'aurait pas trop de toute sa virtuosité dans le clair obscur, dans le contraste des ombres et de la lumière, pour indiquer l'horreur noire, rendue visible par le rouge fulgurant d'une flamme d'autodafé, par le reflet sinistre d'une mare de sang rouge, aux pieds d'une guillotine.
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> À droite, sont les différents groupes formés par les tenants de l'idée moderne, l'idée de l'Évangile et de la Réformation, d'après laquelle l'individu apporte ses droits innés, divins, sacrés, à la Société chargée de les protéger et de les combiner. Les disciples, amis intimes de Calvin, rédigent ensemble, aux pieds du maître, leurs pamphlets célèbres, véritables catéchismes des droits de la démocratie, et Knox, et Goodman, et Hotman, et Duplessis-Mornay, et Théodore de Bèze. Plus loin, ce sont les combats terribles des Puritains écossais, anglais, pour le maintien de

ces droits. Ici ce sont les *Pilgrim fathers*, qui vont emporter ces droits précieux, imprescriptibles, sur les côtes d'Amérique. Là c'est Roger Williams, qui faisant pendant à Rousseau, écrit enfin ces droits dans le pacte fondamental de la cité nouvelle, baptisée du beau nom: Providence. Tandis qu'au bas du tableu, juste au-dessous de Calvin, sur le bureau de l'assemblée nationale, que le Réformateur semble à ce moment présider, Lafayette dépose solennellement le projet de Déclaration des droits de l'homme de 1789, projet qu'il vient de rapporter d'Amérique, lui, le Français Lafayette, ramenant en France l'idée du Français, chassé de France deux siècles avant, Calvin.

Et toutes ces scènes, et toutes ces visions, à gauche d'un passé qui s'en va (et je ne nie pas tout rayon lumineux), à droite d'un avenir qui s'approche (et je ne conteste pas toute ombre néfaste), me rempliraient cependant d'une joie et d'une espérance sans mélange, si, à l'abri même du bureau de l'assemblée nationale, je ne voyais un mauvais Génie, tenant en main les chartes de Droit américaines, puritaines, genevoises, évangéliques, et biffant l'un après l'autre tous les termes religieux, et effaçant l'une après l'autre toutes les traces d'origine biblique, de telle sorte que la célèbre Déclaration des Droits de l'homme, originairement conçue par des croyants, devient peu à peu la Déclaration des droits de l'homme mise en pratique par des non-croyants. Les mots restent ; l'esprit change.

Calvin regarde le mauvais Génie avec des yeux terribles d'indignation. Le mauvais Génie regarde Calvin avec le sourire d'une ironie diabolique.

Et tandis que le tableau s'évanouit, je comprends certains reproches adressés à l'individualisme révolutionnaire. Mais Calvin en est innocent.[1]

CHARLES BORGEAUD.

A History of Japan during the Century of Early Foreign Intercourse (1542–1651). By JAMES MURDOCH, M.A., in collaboration with ISOH YAMAGATA. (Tokio, Japan; Kobe, Japan: Chronicle Office. 1903. Pp. viii, 743.)

THIS book has been written on Japanese soil by one who, using a half-dozen languages, after reading long in the great libraries of Europe, and after years of research and critical comparison of native and foreign authorities, has completed a great work, which will doubtless help handsomely in stimulating the Japanese to produce something like real history. The bulk of what is called history by the Japanese, who indeed make this department the first in their literature, is for the most part dry annals or imaginative or partizan presentations of certain phases of the national story. What Europeans are most eager to know is very apt to be left out, as being of little importance, while for anything like history before the fifth century we have our choice between a vacuum and a rather luxuriant mythology that yet awaits a critical explorer. Mr. James Murdoch, a teacher during many years in southern Japan, begins his portly volume with an introductory chapter which contains, with an outline of chronology from the seventh century, a very luminous account with a running commentary. We are then brought to that moment

[1] *L'Art et le Sentiment dans l'Œuvre de Calvin*, Société genevoise d'édition, Geneva, 1902.